

THE MONASTERY OF PUTNA AND THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF MOLDAVIA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

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Founded by the munificence of Stefan the Great (1457–1504) as a thank offering for his defeat of the Tartars in 1466, the monastery of Putna was destined from the outset to play an influential role in shaping the musical tradition of Moldavia. Aside from his military and administrative achievements, Stefan is known for his constant devotion to the Church, his generous grants of monastic lands, and the encouragement which he gave to literature and the arts, then still in their infancy.¹ He endowed Putna with many personal treasures, including crosses and embroideries; and the workshops of the monastery produced skillfully written and illuminated manuscripts, impressive vestments, and church ware, some of which found their way into parts of Transylvania.² The writing and copying of music books was also an important part of Putna's artistic life. Its tradition of music manuscript writing was developed and, for a time, controlled by the talented scribe, singer, and composer, Evstatie, the monk and protopsaltes,³ its known production—a substantial number of anthologies of chant

representing over a hundred years of musical activity—bears witness to a rich heritage, embracing foreign and local elements, which singles out the monastery of Putna as a major center of church music in Moldavia.

Only recently have the materials of the Moldavian school been brought to the attention of music scholars although some of the manuscripts have been known to philologists since the late nineteenth century.⁴ Most of the investigations have been

Song Book," *OxfSlPap*, 6 (1973), 92 f. On the manuscript productions of Putna, see G. Ciobanu, "Les manuscrits de Putna et certains aspects de la civilisation médiévale roumaine," *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art. Série Théâtre, Musique, Cinéma*, 13 (1976), 65–77. There is no direct evidence that Evstatie was entirely responsible for the burgeoning musical life in sixteenth-century Moldavia, but it will become clear from my remarks below that his role and influence were crucial.

¹E. Kałużniacki, "Beiträge zur älteren Geheimnisschrift der Slaven," *SBWien, Philos.-hist. Kl.* 102 (Vienna, 1883), 287–308; A. I. Jacimirskij, "Kirillovskija notnyja rukopisi s glagoličeskimi tajnopisnymi zapisjami," *Drevnosti. Trudy slavjanskoj Kommissii Imperatorskago Moskovskago Arheologičeskago Obščestva*, 3 (Moscow, 1902), 149–64; R. Palikarova Verdeil, *La musique byzantine chez les bulgares et les russes*, *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, Subsidia, III (Copenhagen, 1953), 215–19; R. Pava, "Cartea de cîntece a lui Evstatie de la Putna," *Studii și materiale de istoria medie*, 5 (1962), 335–47; G. Ciobanu and C. Ghenea, "Un creator de muzică la începutul secolului al XVI-lea," *Muzica*, 14 (1964), 5–6; G. Ciobanu, "Școala muzicală de la Putna," *ibid.*, 16 (1966), 14–20; G. Panțiru, "Școala muzicală de la Putna," *Studii de muzicologie*, 6 (1970), 31–67; D. Stefanović, "Two Bilingual Manuscripts from the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Communications du XIV^e Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Bucharest, 1971), 308–9; A. E. Pennington, "Evstatie's Song Book of 1511: Some Observations," *RESEE*, 9 (1971), 565–83; *idem*, "A Polychronion in Honour of John Alexander of Moldavia," *SIEERev*, 50 (1972), 90–99; *idem*, "Stefan the Serb in Moldavian Manuscripts," *ibid.*, 51 (1973), 107–12; *idem*, "The Composition of Evstatie's Song Book" (*supra*, note 3); *idem*, "Music in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia: New Evidence," *OxfSlPap*, 11 (1978), 64–83; *idem*, "Seven Akolouthiai from Putna," *Studies in Eastern Chant*, IV, ed. E. Wellesz and M. Velimirović (New York, 1979), 112–33.

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¹R. W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians* (Cambridge, 1934), 47.

²See, for example, the elegantly wrought epitaphios presented by Stefan to the Dobrovăț Monastery, in the exhibition catalogue, *Rumanian Art Treasures: Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh-Cardiff-London, 1965–66), pl. 23.

³A protopsaltes was the lead singer in the right-hand choir of the church (see *infra*, note 47). For additional information on Evstatie, see A. E. Pennington, "The Composition of Evstatie's

carried out by specialists in Romania.⁵ However, it would be desirable to have a more detailed study of the music preserved in the Moldavian manuscripts—a study that would relate it to the Greco-Slav tradition in general, and that would also attempt to trace those manuscripts from Putna that found their way into other communities. The present paper, however, is much more limited in scope, and is restricted to a study of the Communion chants, or *Koinonika* (κοινωνικά), which, in sixteenth-century Moldavia, were sung in both Greek and Slavonic. The sources make generous provision for these hymns, in fact, too generous for a full examination at this time. For the sake of brevity, I shall leave the settings transmitted in Greek by Greek composers for a later and more comprehensive study which will also take into consideration the evidence from earlier Byzantine sources. Nonetheless, the use to which these Greek chants were put in Moldavia should be neither underestimated nor lightly dismissed, since they represented a vital and authoritative melodic tradition and provided models for the Moldavian and Slav composers of later times.

There are nine anthologies, all from the sixteenth century, which survive in ten manuscripts; two are part of the same book written and autographed by Evstatie probably in the year 1511: MS Šćukin 350 in the State Historical Museum (GIM), Moscow, comprising 158 folios, and MS 13.3.16 in the Library of the Academy of Sciences (BAN), Leningrad, with 14 folios.⁶ Evstatie's songbook is a clearly written, comprehensive collection which follows the format of the Byzantine *akolouthiai* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in that it provides music for Vespers, Matins, and the three Eastern liturgies—music by early and more recent Greek composers, as well as compositions of his own.⁷ Unless an earlier anthology of Evstatie comes to light, this one can be considered a kind of archetype from which the format of the remaining eight books has been derived. This is particularly true of MS Putna 56 (fols. 1–84^v), also written in

the early sixteenth century, though for transcription purposes its notation is often unreliable and misleading. Of the other documents, only two are dated: MS 258 in the library of the monastery of Leimonos on Lesbos, written in the Dobrovăț monastery by deacon Makarie in 1527, and MS 1.26 in the Central University Library in Jași, written at Putna in 1545 by Antonie the hieromonk. The remainder are MSS Slav 283 and Slav 284 in the library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest; MS 52 in the library of the monastery of Dragomirna (ca. mid-sixteenth century); MS 816 in the library of the Ecclesiastical Museum in Sofia (ca. mid-sixteenth century); and MS Sl. 12 in the library of the University at Leipzig (late sixteenth century).⁸ In principle, these collections contain the same pieces, often in an identical and arbitrary order; they belong to the same melodic tradition; and, what is most conspicuous, they comprise an ample number of settings in both Greek and Slavonic and preserve many bilingual chants. The only other source for bilingual chants from this period is MS 928 in the National Library in Athens, written in part by a monk who signed himself "Isaiah the Serb" from the monastery of Matejčce in Macedonia.⁹

The following investigation is, for the sake of convenience, arranged in two sections. It begins with a survey of those Communion hymns, composed both in Greek and in Slavonic, by non-Greeks, which were used in the religious communities of Moldavia. Principally, the discussion centers on the works of Evstatie, and I shall attempt to establish certain hallmarks of his psalmodic style which will then be used, with the necessary reservations, to identify his unattributed compositions in the anthologies. Two lesser-known Moldavians, Dometian the Vlach and Theodosie Zotika, also made original, though small, contributions to the *Koinonikon* repertory; both preferred Greek texts only. Representation from fifteenth-century Serbia comes in the form of melodies by the well-known Stefan the Serb, and Joakeim, monk of Harsianites and domestikos of Serbia (the latter's ethnic origin is still in doubt); both composers' names first appear in Greek anthologies of the preceding century. The second section of this examination is devoted to Greek

⁵Through their efforts a recording of Moldavian chants was issued in 1978, with the works of Evstatie and others sung by the Corul de camera Madrigal (Electrecord Recording, nos. STM-ECE 01199 and STM-ECE 01277, conducted by Marin Constantin).

⁶For further details about these two manuscripts, see Pennington, "Evstatie's Song Book of 1511."

⁷On the Late Byzantine *Akolouthiai*, see D. E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant* (Thessaloniki, 1974), 42–49, and bibliography on p. 43 note 9.

⁸Descriptions of these manuscripts, their composition and contents, is given in Pennington, "Seven *Akolouthiai*" and "Music in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia."

⁹Attention to MS Athens 928 and its Serbian compositions has been given in Stefanović, "Two Bilingual Manuscripts" and *idem*, *Stara Srpska Muzika* (Belgrade, 1975).

musicians whose melodies were appropriated by the Moldavian scribes and given Slavonic texts. They did this in order to amplify the Koinonikon repertory, to provide an element of variety, and to complete the liturgical cycle. Essentially, it has been my aim to uncover the true identity of the original composer, to note the degree of faithfulness to the model by making comparisons with the earliest known transmissions, and to observe the manner of textual alignment. Byzantine works dating from the early fourteenth century were known to the Moldavians; consequently, chants by Dimitrios Dokeianos, Xenos Korones, Phokas, Ioannes Sgouropoulos, and Manuel Chrysaphes were used for the Communions. By far the most popular, however, were the melodies composed by the late fourteenth- early fifteenth-century Constantinopolitan lampadarios, Ioannes Kladas. Significantly, the borrowed melodies rarely carried Slavonic translations of the original texts.

KOINONIKA BY MOLDAVIAN AND SERBIAN COMPOSERS

Evstatie of Putna

Although identified as the writer of music for only seven Communion hymns, Evstatie probably composed several of the many other anonymous settings. The appearance of certain features¹⁰ which are characteristic of his compositional technique suggests that the majority of unidentified pieces in his songbook are his own creations. The ones directly attributed to him are:

- A. the Koinonikon for the feast of the Apostles in Mode I, Въ вѣсѣ зємла изидє:¹¹ MS Šćukin 350, fol. 103^r–103^v, and MS Putna 56, fol. 71^v;
- B. three settings of the Koinonikon sung at Memorial liturgies, Блажєни аже избра господь,¹² one in Mode I: MS Putna 56, fols. 72^v–73^r; and two in Mode I Plagal: MS BAN 13.3.16, fol. 12^r–12^v, and MS Putna 56, fol. 74^r–74^v; MS Šćukin 350, fol. 104^r, and MS Putna 56, fols. 73^v–74^r;¹³
- C. the Koinonikon for Holy Thursday, Τοῦ δεῦπνου σου τοῦ μυστικου,¹⁴ in Mode III: Putna 56,

fols. 68^r–69^v (the only Greek setting by Evstatie); D. two settings in Mode I Plagal of the Koinonikon for ferial Saturdays, Радѣйтесє правєдни:¹⁵ MS Putna 56, fols. 73^r–74^r; MS Šćukin 350, fols. 109^r and 104^v.

Evstatie's compositions betray a strong allegiance to Greek musical practices. Indeed, the wholesale appropriation of Byzantine melodic devices and liturgical conventions and their deployment in a Moldavian monastic milieu point to a dependence which bears favorable comparison with the late medieval church music productions of Serbia and Russia. Without exception, Evstatie (and, following him, Antonie, Makarie, and the other scribes) writes the alleluia ending to his Slavonic Koinonika in Greek letters (*alphas* and *lambdas* are always in Greek, though the scribes usually write the Cyrillic и for *eta*), and, for purposes of internal repetition, he uses the sung instruction πάλιν (=again) untranslated. The appearance of this term and of λέγε (=say) in his alleluia is so common that they become hallmarks of his settings—veritable clichés (they are only occasionally found in Greek compositions). This is curious because it seems clear that the meaning of πάλιν was not really understood by the chanters at Putna; for this reason, Evstatie used a symbol, Ϡ, which directed the performers to repeat a section of the refrain. The scribe of MS Putna 56, fols. 1–84^v, draws the symbol in a slightly different fashion: ϡ; otherwise, it functions identically. These are the only two anthologies which contain the sign, and its appearance in the later Putna manuscript supports the belief expressed above that Evstatie's songbook was used as an exemplar by the Putna scribe.

Example 1¹⁶ is instructive in that it exhibits a number of features which can be used as fingerprints of Evstatie's style. The opening syllable, *na*, is very common within alleluia chants appended to Greek texts. In them, the consonant *n* is used to separate the last syllable of one alleluia from the first syllable of the following,¹⁷ and it is obvious that Evstatie imitates this practice in the subsequent repetitions of the word, as shown in the example. It is uncommon, however, to find this consonant, as it appears here, with the first utterance of the word, and even more surprising is Evstatie's use of

¹⁰ See *infra*, p. 17, col. 2–p. 19.

¹¹ Psalm 18:5.

¹² Psalms 64:5 and 101:13.

¹³ While the music to the psalm verses of the two Plagal settings is essentially identical, that to their alleluia endings is entirely different.

¹⁴ The musical and liturgical history of this troparion has been treated at length by K. Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 16 (1963), 127–75; and Conomos, *op. cit.*, 39–40 and 242–50.

¹⁵ Psalm 32:1.

¹⁶ Example 1: The alleluia to Радѣйтесє правєдни in Mode I Plagal (MSS Šćukin 350, fol. 104^r, and Putna 56, fol. 73^r–73^v). The final note *d* is not given in the latter transmission.

¹⁷ Supporting evidence for this is given in Conomos, *op. cit.*, 262–63.

Example 1

Example 1 shows three staves of musical notation with Greek lyrics. The first staff begins with a parakalesma (P) and the third staff ends with an omalon (O). The lyrics are:
 Ηά — λλη-ηη - χη - - χη — εά -
 λλη-λού - ι - α — εα - - εε - ι - α - εε-εε-εα
 εε — εά-λλη-λού - ι - α· πά - λιν· α —

Cyrillic letters for the first syllable of an otherwise entirely Greek refrain. Secondly, the small five-note figure under the bracket marked *P*, known as a *parakalesma* (one of the standard cheironomic melodic devices of Late Byzantine music¹⁸), is almost always used by Evstatie at the beginning of his alleluias regardless of the piece's modality. Thirdly, Evstatie's treatment of the sung instruction *πάλιν* is also informative. Here, as elsewhere, he sets the first syllable to a two-note alternating pattern (which may comprise from four to six repercussions) and gives the last syllable a long note. This figure, marked *O* under the bracket, with its characteristic accents on the upper note (the *oxeia*, marked by >) and the *gorgon* (marked by Γ, directing a rapid execution), strongly resembles the cheironomic formula known as the *omalon*.¹⁹ Occasionally, Greek composers use the *omalon* with *πάλιν*,²⁰ but more often, when the term is used, no particular melodic formula is preferred. This is also true of the instruction *λέγε*, to which Evstatie invariably gives an *epegerma*²¹ (not shown in Example 1); but when used by the Greeks, the term

can be given any one of a number of motives. Fourthly, Evstatie's unique repeat sign after *πάλιν* (⇒) directs the chanters back to the same sign at the beginning of the alleluia refrain. With the final alleluia the term would presumably not be repeated, and the singers would either bypass the *omalon* and continue with the cadence on the final letter or they would use the *omalon* figure, without the *πάλιν*, to create an extended melismatic ending. It appears that the latter method was sometimes employed by the Moldavians, for, in the alleluia to ВѢСТА ЯКО СΙΑГОСИΘ²² which Evstatie borrowed and edited from the refrain of Ioannes Kladas' Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον in Mode I, he arranged the texts under the neumes in the following manner:

⇒πάλιν
 ἀλληλοῦιααααααα. (etc.)²³

Here the symbol comes before, and not after, the *πάλιν*, as in Example 1, and this undoubtedly means that its location determined the procedure—it was not simply an arbitrary arrangement. In this case, at the repeat, the hymn would conclude with the

¹⁸ See *ibid.*, 357–63.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 364.

²⁰ Ioannes Kladas does so in his alleluia refrains to Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον (Psalm 111:6^b, the *Koinonikon* for feasts of St. John the Baptist) and Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον (Psalm 148:1, the *Koinonikon* for Sundays) in Modes IV and III, respectively. These can be found in MS Athens 2622 fols. 406^v and 405^r, respectively.

²¹ See Conomos, *op. cit.*, 344–46.

²² The *Koinonikon* for Holy Saturday; Psalm 77:65.

²³ Evstatie writes this in MS BAN 13.3.16, fol. 10^r–10^v, and it is copied by the scribe of MS Putna 56, fol. 59^v. The original of Kladas, according to Byzantine sources (for example, MS Athens 2622, fol. 403^r–403^v—see Table I—did not have the double text, although when deacon Makarie uses the hymn in its original Greek form in MS Leimonos 258, fol. 259^r–259^v, he follows the established Putna tradition and inserts both.

long melisma on the last letter, whereas in Example 1 the chanters may have omitted the omalon phrase entirely and moved on to the cadence. The use of a double text in this fashion never occurs in Greek or Serbian sources; it strongly suggests a local custom, perhaps initiated by Evstatie himself and readily adopted by other Romanian composers and scribes. The final fingerprint is the post-cadential rising phrase (after the broken bar line), a feature of Greek settings since the thirteenth century which is included somewhat mechanically by Evstatie in virtually all of his compositions. Unlike the Greek composers, Evstatie does not intercalate double *gammas* or other extraneous letters into this phrase.²⁴ but its function of notifying the clergy that the hymn has ended identifies a Moldavian adaptation of Greek liturgical practices. This is hardly surprising, since it is well known that Romanian monks traveled to and entered Greek monastic communities.²⁵

Having isolated these features of Evstatie's compositional style, I suggest now that, by using them as a guide, we may tentatively identify as his creations a number of anonymous compositions in the Moldavian sources.²⁶

1. A setting of Радѣйте се праведни in Mode I Plagal (MS Putna 56, fol. 72^r–72^v) strongly resembles, in its opening phrases, the two compositions for this text attributed to Evstatie, also in this mode (see *supra*, p. 17). Moreover, Evstatie's special repeat sign, which functions with the πάλιν (as in Example 1) is used; the alleluia opens with a paraklesma formula on the syllable *na*; and the motive above πάλιν is a modified omalon. Finally, the post-cadential phrase is identical to that in Example 1.

2. A second setting of the same text, also in Mode I Plagal (MSS Sofia 816, fols. 107^v–108^v, and Bucharest 283, fol. 139^r–139^v), but with the Slavonic words written in Greek characters: Радѣте се праведнеи ω господа. The same melody appears in Mode IV Plagal in MS Putna 56, fols. 74^v–75^r, and here the rubric says τοῦ αὐτοῦ (= by the same). This would certainly mean Evstatie, if the previous chant in the Putna manuscript, Блажені же избра госпоѡ on fol. 74^r–74^v, were written by him, and there is good reason to believe that it was (see

Example 3(a) *infra*). Aside from this circumstantial evidence, there are stylistic leads which identify the work of the Putna musician, such as the paraklesma opening of the alleluia with the intercalation of *n* on its first syllable, and the omalon figure on πάλιν. Whether the writing of a Slavonic text with Greek letters is the innovation of Evstatie himself or of the Sofia scribe is open to question, but it seems well in accord with the novel extravagances of Evstatie, the singer, scribe, editor, and inventor of Glagolitic ciphers and new musical symbols. Possibly this chant was composed for the use of Greek monks visiting Putna.

3. A setting of Творѣи аггели своа²⁷ in Mode I (MS Ščukin 350, fol. 98^v) may be by Evstatie, the only scribe otherwise known to have recorded this hymn. Once again, it uses the paraklesma for the alleluia opening, the special repeat sign, the omalon figure on πάλιν; and its extensive refrain passes through various modes—a procedure to which Evstatie is partial, particularly in longer compositions such as this.

4. A setting of Чаша спасенія²⁸ in Mode I Plagal (MS BAN 13.3.16, fol. 12^v) uses much of the material from Evstatie's other Plagal I Koinonikon settings and is clearly the work of the same hand. Moreover, the fact that it appears only in his songbook and that it is a condensed version of other compositions by him argues favorably to this end.

If my judgments, based as they are on the sheer strength of the musical evidence, are correct, eleven Koinonikon settings can now be ascribed to Evstatie of Putna: ten Slavonic and one Greek. This is indeed a remarkably high number by late medieval standards, ranking favorably with the compositions of Kladas, Korones, and Chrysaphes, and it bears witness to a prolific and ingenious composer. It should be understood, however, that of the ten Slavonic works, several share a considerable amount of material. Examples 2 and 3²⁹ demonstrate two things: first, the degree of agreement among Evstatie's works in Mode I Authentic and Mode I Plagal, respectively; and secondly, possible sources of inspiration for Evstatie's musical technique. These examples exhibit one particular aspect of Evstatie's psalmodic style, a style which clearly comprises a common vocabulary of melodic idioms familiar from

²⁴ For a discussion of the function of intercalated letters in Byzantine chants, see Conomos, *op. cit.*, 261–73.

²⁵ Pennington, "Stefan the Serb" (*supra*, note 4), 112.

²⁶ Needless to say, I have examined the Greek chants from Byzantine sources to see whether any were appropriated by the scribes and provided with Slavonic texts. This kind of borrowing was certainly most common, but I am satisfied that the works in the following list are not copies.

²⁷ The Koinonikon for feasts of the Angels; Psalm 103:4.

²⁸ The Koinonikon for feasts of the Mother of God; Psalm 115:4.

²⁹ Example 2: a. the Koinonikon for feasts of the Apostles (Psalm 18:5)—MS Ščukin 350, fol. 103^r; b. the Koinonikon for Memorial liturgies (Psalms 64:5 and 101:13)—MS Putna 56, fol.

Example 2

a) *Evstatie*

Mode I

ВѢ ВѢ-СѢ ЗЕМ - ЛѦ И - ЗИ - ΔΕ ВѢ - ШѦ - НН

b) *Evstatie*

ѿ-Ѧ-ЖЕ-НН А-ЖЕ ИЗ - БРА ГОС - ПОД И ПРМ-АТ ИХ

c) *Xenos Korones*

Barys

'Ε-παί-νει, 'Ι - ε-ρου-σα-λήμ, τὸν κύ-ρι-ον αἰ-νει τὸν θε - ὄν

d) *Manuel Vlatyrou*

Barys

'Ε-πε-φά-νη ἡ χά-ρις τοῦ θε - οῦ ἡ σω - τή-ρι-ος πα-σιν

e) *Ioannes Kladas*

No modal indication

ΠΟ-τή-ρι-ον σω-τη - ρί-ον λή-ψομαι καὶ τὸ ὄ-νο-μα κυ-ρί-ου ἐ-πι-κα

Byzantine musical practices.³⁰ The transcriptions show that his psalmody is fairly elaborate, and that it is varied by a deployment of irregular phrases. There is, at least in Example 3, some correlation between textual accents and musical inflections³¹ which evokes a primitive, recitative-like simplicity with very moderate embellishment. Its semiornate

character rarely interferes with the intention of the composer to focus attention on the text. This is more than merely a question of slavish copying; rather, I believe that it is the conservation of a strong and authentic melodic tradition which dates from Early Christian times and which entered Moldavia in Byzantine musical dress.³²

Evstatie also continues the long-standing practice of writing accompanying alleluias in a style entirely different from that of the psalm verse. In them, the long lines of music, built on a vaster time scale, are characterized by uninhibited melismatic elaborations requiring the support of intercalated foreign letters for ease of delivery.³³ This ornate appendage is strongly influenced by the well-established kalophonic style of writing which emerged in Byzantium two centuries earlier through the ef-

72^v; c. the Koinonikon for Thomas Sunday (Psalm 147:1)—MS Sinai 1311, fol. 108^r; d. the Koinonikon for Theophany (Titus 2:11)—MS Vatopedi 1495, fol. 206^r; e. the Koinonikon for feasts of the Mother of God (Psalm 115:4)—MS Sinai 1462, fol. 448^v. Example 3: a. the Koinonikon for Memorial liturgies (*op. cit.*)—MS Putna 56, fol. 74^r; b. the Koinonikon for Saturdays (Psalm 32:1)—MS Putna 56, fol. 72^r; c. the Koinonikon for Saturdays—MS Šćukin 350, fol. 104^r; d. *ibid.*, fol. 104^r; e. the Koinonikon for feasts of the Mother of God (*op. cit.*)—MS BAN 13.3.16, fol. 12^r; f. the Koinonikon for Sundays (Psalm 148:1)—MS Athens 2622, fol. 407^r (This melody is used by Evstatie for the Pentecost Koinonikon in Slavonic; see *infra*, p. 26.); g. the Koinonikon for feasts of St. John the Baptist (Psalm 111: 6b)—MS Sinai 1294, fol. 91^r; h. the Koinonikon for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (Psalm 33:9)—MS Sinai 1311, fol. 105^v.

³⁰Works by all of the Greek composers listed in Examples 2 and 3 were well known to the Putna school, since numerous chants by them, and others, were used by the Moldavian scribes for their compilations.

³¹One exception is in line a, бпаженѣ.

³²The conservative retention of Early Christian psalmody in Byzantine melismatic chant is demonstrated by D. E. Conomos, "Communion Chants in Magna Graecia and Byzantium," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 241–63.

³³Two of Evstatie's alleluia chants are transcribed in Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika* (*supra*, note 7), 309 and 313.

Example 3

Mode I Plagal

a) *Evstatie*



БЛА-ЖЕ - НИ А - ЖЕ ИЗ - - БРА ГОС-ПОД И ПРИ-АЛІХ ВЪ СС - ЛИ ВЪ...

b) *Evstatie*



РА - ΔΥ - И - ТЕ - СЕ ПРА - - ВЕΔ - - НИ Ω.....

c) *Evstatie*



РА - ΔΥ - И - ТЕ - СС ПРА _____ ΝΑ _____

d) *Evstatie*



РА - ΔΥ - И - ТЕ - СЕ ПРА - - ВЕΔ - НИ Ω ΓΟ _____ ΝΟ _____ ...

e) *Evstatie*



ЧА - ША СІТА - СЕ - НІ - А ПРИ - МХ И И - МА ГОС-ПОД НЕ - ТРИ - - ЗО - - ВА...

f) *Phokas*



Αἰ - - νεῖ - τε τὸν κύ - ρι - ον ἐκ τῶν.....

g) *Ioannes Koukouzeles*



Εἰς μνη - μό - σου - νον αἰ - - ὠ - νι - ον ἔ - σται.....

h) *Georgios Kontopetris*



Γεύ - σα - σθε καὶ ἴ - δε - τε ὅ - τι.....

forts of the celebrated maistores of Constantinople and Mount Athos, and which played a dominant role in the compositions of post-Byzantine musicians. Evstatie's one Greek Koinonikon is entirely written in the kalophonic style. A long and complicated piece, it makes great demands on the singers and departs radically from the well-known Byzantine settings in the repertory with its heterogeneous treatment of melismata, inconsistent musical texture, and irregular modality.³⁴ But this is an

exception, and in the light of his Slavonic settings we should appreciate Evstatie's oeuvre as a challenging and influential extension of a rich musical heritage. The delightful and telling individual touches that we have encountered allow us to acknowledge his highly imaginative and sophisticated musical mind.

Dometian the Vlach

This obscure Romanian composer is at present known as the writer of only a single chant, a Greek setting in Mode IV Plagal of the Koinonikon for

³⁴See *supra*, note 14.

feasts of the Mother of God.³⁵ It has been suggested by A. Pennington that he was not directly connected with or influenced by the *schola cantorum* at Putna, but that he may have lived and composed in the century preceding Evstatie. This suggestion is based on the fact that the composer is given an ethnic attribute and that the Moldavian scribes write his name with a Greek ending.³⁶ The argument from philology, however, is not always reliable since, as I demonstrate below, the Romanian nominative form, Georgie, written in Greek in MS Putna 56, fol. 60^v, refers to the fourteenth-century Byzantine domestikos Georgios Moschianos.³⁷ But, aside from the fact that none of the manuscripts which preserves the chant dates from before the mid-sixteenth century, the evidence of the music itself argues convincingly for an early date.

In an unprecedented fashion, Dometian devotes twenty-five lines of music to the psalm text and sixteen lines to the alleluia. Moreover, within the psalmody he creates a number of abnormal subdivisions: the sung instructions *πάλιν* and *λέγε* segment the verse into smaller units of chant in the authentic form of the mode. These expressions rarely appear within the text but are common, as we have seen in Evstatie's compositions, at the end of the alleluia. Also irregular is the fact that the entire piece ends in the authentic mode. Dometian's style belongs, as expected, to the free kalophonic genre—rich in melismata and extreme in its vocal range. Therefore, until new evidence is brought forth, it is satisfactory to view Dometian as a fifteenth-century composer of Wallachian origin who, like so many other Romanians at that time, received a Greek musical education, and whose music later formed part of the polyglot tradition in the Moldavian monastic communities.

Theodosie Zotika

An equally enigmatic figure is this monk-composer to whom are attributed three hymns.³⁸ One of these is an extremely elaborate setting in Greek of the Sunday Koinonikon in Mode I. Its single transmission, in MS Leipzig Sl. 12, fols. 7^v–9^v, defies accurate transcription, but its ambitus seems to

cover over two octaves with an inordinate amount of complex musical material at both extremes.

In the highly ornate alleluia, the repeats (with *πάλιν*) are written out, but they fail to correspond to the original music. Although his name appears in a Greek form in the manuscripts, it is very likely that Theodosie was a Romanian. The fact that one of his compositions is set to a Slavonic text, however, does not altogether constitute a convincing argument,³⁹ since it was a common practice of Moldavian compilers to use Greek melodies for Slavonic verses. So far I have been able to identify over a dozen instances in which scribes have appropriated Greek Koinonikon melodies and inserted Slavonic words, occasionally together with the Greek original. It has not been possible, however, to trace Theodosie's melody in Byzantine sources; it does not bear even faint resemblance to any other Greek Communion chant in Mode I, and, to my knowledge, there was no Greek composer of Koinonika by this name before the mid-sixteenth century.

Stefan the Serb

Known already from Serbian manuscripts as the composer of two bilingual chants for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts—the Cherubikon and the Koinonikon⁴⁰—Stefan's achievements as a composer receive wider acclaim with the recent discovery by A. Pennington of two more works by him preserved in the Moldavian sources.⁴¹ These are settings in Greek of the Communion hymn for Easter, *Σῶμα χριστοῦ μεταλάβετε*, in Mode I Plagal, and of the ordinary Sunday chant in the Barys mode. The former appears in MS Leimonos 258, fols. 255^v–256^r, with the incomplete attribution τοῦ Στεφάνου, as well as on the second folio of an earlier Greek codex now appended to the Moldavian *akolouthia* (MS Putna 56, fol. 86^v), without an attribution. Is this composer Stefan the Serb? I believe it is, not only for the convincing reasons given by Pennington, but also because the music follows the mannered and uncomplicated style of the composer's other works. His is a conservative idiom whose elegantly structured phrases balance each other with a rare precision that is also noticeable in the work of Stefan's colleagues, Isaiah and Nico-

³⁵ This is preserved in four Moldavian anthologies: MSS Sofia 816, fols. 103^v–105^r; Bucharest 283, fol. 111^r; Jași 1.26, fol. 127^r–127^v; and Dragomirna 52, fol. 23^r. A transcription is given in Panțiru "Școala muzicală" (*supra*, note 4).

³⁶ Pennington, "Stefan the Serb" (*supra*, note 4), 111–12.

³⁷ See *infra*, p. 00 and note 69; cf. Pennington, *ibid.*, 111.

³⁸ On Theodosie, see Panțiru, "Școala Muzicală;" and Pennington, "Stefan the Serb."

³⁹ Cf. Pennington, *ibid.*

⁴⁰ See Stefanović, *Stara Srpska Muzika* (*supra*, note 9) 53–66.

⁴¹ Pennington, "Stefan the Serb," 109; and *idem*, "Music in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia" (*supra*, note 4), 82.

Example 4

Barys Mode

Αἰ - νεῖ - τε τὸν κύ - ρι - ον ἐκ τῶν οὐ - ρα - νῶν

a) Stefan

b) Christophoros

c) Ioannes Kladas

d) Panaretos

e) Manuel Argyropoulos

las.⁴² This Easter hymn is unique. Apart from general details of style, it bears no similarity in its essential structure or formulaic patterns to Stefan's other chants or to comparable Greek melodies. Quite the opposite is true for his Sunday Koinonikon, which is known from six sources: MSS Putna 56, fols. 35^v–36^r; Bucharest 283, fol. 105^r; Sofia 816, fol. 97^v; Leimonos 258, fols. 240^r–241^v; Leipzig Sl. 12, fols. 28^r–30^r; and Jaši 1.26, fol. 107^v. The melody for the psalm verse is moderately ornate and exhibits a much freer style than that encountered in the former work. Its accompanying alleluia is very flexible and complex with long drawn-out syllables extended by intercalated letters, internal repeats, and an exploitation of low and high vocal registers. In the psalmody, areas of melodic agreement with Byzantine Sunday Koinonika in the same mode become extremely obvious when the comparable melodies are stripped of their ornamental accretions (see Example 4).⁴³ This kind of allegiance, as noted above with regard to the work of Evstatie, bears impressive testimony to the survival

and the supremacy of a cardinal and highly integrated musical tradition in Eastern psalmody.

*Joakeim, Monk of Harsianites and
Domestikos of Serbia*

The five bilingual Koinonika in the Moldavian musical documents offer a rare insight into the working of the Putna scribes. Two striking facts emerge, from even a superficial examination: first, the two psalm texts never agree; and secondly, the Greek text, always the primary one, is used as a control for the disposition of the Slavonic syllables which, in all cases, give the appearance of being an arbitrary insertion on the part of the scribe. This latter argument gains further credibility when we observe how, in the manuscript itself, the scribes have squeezed in the Slavonic text. Moreover, as Table I discloses (see *infra*, p. 25), bilingual chants are always unique to one manuscript, and when duplicated settings are given two texts in one source the other sources provide only the Greek original. For example, the Mode I Greek Koinonikon for feasts of the Mother of God by Ioannes Kladas, transmitted in MS Sofia 816, fol. 74^v, is joined by the Slavonic Communion verse for Theophany in MS Jaši 1.26, fols. 94^r–95^v (see Table I). It is quite probable that the scribes, compelled by modal con-

⁴² For details on the music of these composers, see Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*, 76–81 and 207–12.

⁴³ Example 4: a. MS Putna 56, fol. 35^v; b. MS Vatopedi 1495, fol. 208^r; c. MS Athens 2622, fol. 408^r; d. *ibid.*, fol. 359^r; e. *ibid.*, fol. 409^r.

siderations, used any Greek Koinonikon in the repertory so long as it accommodated the proper Slavonic text without serious complications. In melismatic music of this kind the degree of adaptability is naturally quite high, and one can appreciate the facility with which the Moldavian scribes improvised with well-known Greek chants in order to serve their own needs.

This is certainly true with the bilingual chant Αἰνεῖτε/Избавление⁴⁴ (Mode II), which is only found, without attribution, in Antonie's anthology, MS Jași 1.26, fols. 95^v–96^v. Suspecting a Greek original, I investigated the Byzantine akolouthiai and discovered the same melody in two mid-fifteenth-century sources: MS Athens 2406, fol. 254^r–254^v, and MS Vatopedi 1528, fol. 84^r–84^v. In one respect my suspicions proved to be valid, but not in another: valid in that the chant was originally set solely to Greek words; not valid in that its composer, identified in the Athens anthology, was Joakeim, a monk and domestikos (or precentor) of Serbia, thereby presumably a Serb, who lived in the Constantinopolitan monastery of Harsianites.⁴⁵ To date this composer has been known chiefly from the handful of compositions which bear his name in the Athens codex,⁴⁶ but with this Koinonikon in the Jași manuscript we can see in Joakeim, as in Stefan, a musician of long-standing and wide reputation, thanks to the efforts of Antonie of Putna. Full credit must be given to him for the care and consideration with which he has attended to the task of textual application. For he, like the other Putna scribes who liberally borrowed from Greek psalmody to create Slavonic chants, has honored the note/syllable arrangement of the original and has, in an effortless yet rational manner, adhered to this arrangement in the alignment of the new text. In other words, the choice of his Greek model was, in one respect at least, less arbitrary than one may at first imagine. For his Christmas Communion hymn, Antonie selected Joakeim's ordinary Sunday chant because it was conducive to a happy

disposition of syllables—one which satisfied his desire to honor the primacy of the Greek setting. The textual underlay in Example 5 is given as written by Antonie in the Jași manuscript. The lower, Greek verse is the principal one written in bold, prominent letters by the scribe. The upper, Slavonic text is squeezed between the neumes and the Greek. In a disjointed and ungainly fashion it skirts both the main and subsidiary notations.

Example 5

Изва - [Изва] - вλε	Изва- вλε-ни-е
Αἰνεῖ _____ τε	τὸν... κύ- ρι- ον ἐκ
по-сла го-спо ђ-о-хо ђ	лю-дем
τῶν οὐ - ρα-νῶ _____ χων	οὐ-ρα-
сво-им лю людем сво-им	} ἀλληλούια
νῶν 'εκ τῶν οὐ - ρα-νῶν	

The imitation, however, as we can see at the beginning of the example, was neither totally slavish nor mechanical. Where Joakeim writes a melisma on the second syllable of Αἰνεῖτε, it suits Antonie's artistic purposes to make a modification by repeating the first two syllables of Избавление. Although he rarely anticipates the original structure by using a new Slavonic syllable before a new Greek one (the one exception in this case is своим against the last syllable of οὐρανῶν), Antonie will repeat earlier text as the chant unfolds, as, for example, with изба— against τὸν. However, one instance of a rigid alignment producing unusual results occurs in the last syllable of the first οὐρανῶν. Here, Joakeim abbreviates a melisma by inserting the extraneous letter χ, and Antonie, obviously delighted with the fortuitous coincidence of the same vowel in both texts (-спo and -νῶν), applies the same device. Unfortunately, his linguistic perspective was distorted by his euphoria, for he inadvertently extends the vowel *after* the final consonant rather than before it, thereby producing the curious form ροcποђ оохοђ instead of the regular ροcποоохοђ. But at a more practical level, Antonie admirably solves the difficulty created by the inequality of syllables. By repeating the last three words of the Greek, Joakeim obliges him to deal with the problem of five syllables against four. If Antonie were not so concerned with preserving an exact alignment, the problem would not exist; but he is, and the adjustment is made neatly by the repetition of the first syllable of людем against the two Greek

⁴⁴ An alliance of the Sunday and the Christmas (Psalm 110:9a) Koinonika (Example 5).

⁴⁵ Concerning Joakeim, see M. Velimirović, Ἰωακείμ μοναχὸς τοῦ χαρσιανίτου καὶ δομέστικος Σερβίας, *Recueil de travaux de l'institut d'études byzantines*, 8,2 (= *Mélanges George Ostrogorsky*) (Belgrade, 1964), 451–58. Stana Djurić-Klajn argues that Joakeim's nationality cannot be established with full certainty since the title "domestikos of Serbia" need not necessarily mean that he was a Serb; see her *Survey of Serbian Music through the Ages* (Belgrade, 1972), 38.

⁴⁶ See M. Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers in MS. Athens 2406," *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. J. Westrup (Oxford, 1966), 15.

prepositions. Example 5, therefore, allows us to understand the motivation behind the Moldavian scribes' choice of Greek models. The more obvious procedure, that of adapting the Slavonic verse to the same festal chant in Greek, was clearly unsuitable. Otherwise, the composition is written in the ambitious kalophonic style of most Byzantine chants of the fifteenth century. Typically, the alleluia surpasses the psalmody in both length and elaboration; it sustains a high tessitura and is extended by means of internal repetitions.

KOINONIKA BY GREEK COMPOSERS

Ioannes Kladas

The most widely represented Byzantine composer in the Moldavian collection of Koinonika is the late fourteenth-century lampadarios, Ioannes Kladas.⁴⁷ Of the five compositions by him appropriated for Slavonic texts, four were originally set

to the Sunday Communion verse and one to the verse for feasts of the Mother of God (see Table I). By means of this bilingual duplication, the singers at Putna had at their disposal a full cycle of Slavonic and Greek chants for the ecclesiastical year which were economically compiled by their ingenious scribes. Both the scribe of the Putna manuscript and deacon Makarie in the Leimonos manuscript identify Kladas by the enigmatic form: τοῦ Ἰωάννου. This is never encountered in Greek sources, since it would have created confusion with other eminent writers named Ioannes such as Glykes, Koukouzeles, Sgouropoulos, etc. But, at the same time, the more familiar and unambiguous τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου is also used by the Putna scribe. Only Antonie, in the Jași manuscript, takes the trouble to supply the Greek original as the primary text in his selection, but in both cases he neglects to name the composer. At least he made the task of tracing exemplars considerably less laborious.

TABLE I

Mode	Moldavian Source	Feast (Slavonic text)	Attribution	Earliest Byzantine Source	Feast (Greek text)
I	BAN, fol. 10 ^r –10 ^v Putna, fols. 59 ^v –60 ^r	Holy Saturday ⁴⁸	none Κὺρ Ἰωάννου	Athens 2622, ⁴⁹ fol. 403 ^r –403 ^v	Sunday
Barys	Putna, fols. 67 ^r –68 ^r	Palm Sunday ⁵⁰	τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου	Athens 2622, fol. 409 ^r –409 ^v	Mother of God
IV Plagal	BAN, fol. 8 ^r –8 ^v Putna, fol. 56 ^v	The Annunciation ⁵¹	none τοῦ λαμπαδα- ρίου	Athens 2622, fols. 409 ^v –410 ^r	Sunday
I	Jași, fols. 94 ^r –95 ^v Sofia, fol. 74 ^v ⁵²	The Theophany ⁵³	none none	Athens 2622, fol. 403 ^v	Mother of God
Nenano ⁵⁴	Jași, fols. 103 ^v –104 ^v ⁵⁵	The Ascension ⁵⁶	none	Athens 2622, fol. 407 ^v	Sunday

⁴⁷ A lampadarios was the lead singer in the left-hand choir of the church. This office, like that of the protopsaltes (see *supra*, note 3), was one of many in the Byzantine Church. See Pseudo-Kodinos' *Treatise on the Offices*, ed. and trans. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 190, 191, 192, 198, 203, 214, 225, 226, 240, 241, 263, 265, 269, 308; M. L. Clugnet, "Les offices et les dignités ecclésiastiques dans l'église grecque," *ROChr*, 3 (1898), 142–50, 260–64, 425–57; *ibid.*, 4 (1899), 116–28; K. M. Rallis, *Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιωματος τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου*, in *Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 9 (1934), 259–61; *idem*, *Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιωματος τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου*, *ibid.*, 11 (1936), 66–69.

⁴⁸ Psalm 77:65.

⁴⁹ Dated 1341–ca. 1360, this chant, also attributed to κὺρ Ἰωάννου, appears in its Greek original form in MS Leimonos 258, fol. 259^r–259^v.

⁵⁰ Psalm 117:26.

⁵¹ Psalm 131:13.

⁵² This is a bilingual arrangement in MS Jași 1.26, Greek only in MS Sofia 816.

⁵³ Titus 2:11.

⁵⁴ This is a Late Byzantine modal form related to II Plagal.

⁵⁵ This is a bilingual arrangement.

⁵⁶ Psalm 46:6.

Although Evstatie, unlike Antonie, does not provide the Greek text, a comparison of the two chants (for Holy Saturday and for The Annunciation) used by him in the Leningrad manuscript with the earlier transmissions in the Athens source identifies an equally careful syllable-to-note relationship. Once more, the Slavonic text, despite the fact that it is not a translation, rarely anticipates the Greek but unfolds at the same moment. Where the Greek repeats a portion of the verse or has an intercalated consonant, Evstatie deftly follows suit in his conservative adaptation. I have already noted how, exercising his powers as an editor, Evstatie, in the Annunciation hymn, makes use of his special repeat sign and couples the instruction *πάλιν* with the end of the alleluia in the final melisma. Like Antonie, however, Evstatie fails to acknowledge the composer, and in many cases we must rely on the more considerate, though less musically precise, scribe of MS Putna 56. This scribe, who uses a Marian chant by Kladas for the Palm Sunday Koinonikon, on two occasions continues the Slavonic verse over two Greek sung instructions (as given in the Athens transmission). Instead of λέγε he writes the last two syllables of *βλαγοσλοβεν*, and instead of *πάλιν* he writes *βογ*. Normally, when these appear in the Greek they are left intact by the Moldavian arrangers, as in Antonie's alliance of the Theophany verse to Kladas' Mode I Koinonikon, in which he isolates *πάλιν* from the Slavonic text. Otherwise, both he and Antonie adhere to the principles of adaptation outlined above. When the former includes chants used by Evstatie, these are obviously straightforward copies with minimal modification.

I shall conclude by simply listing the remaining borrowings, identifying the composer where possible, and noting the earliest Greek sources. Virtually all of these have been arranged by Evstatie and appear anonymously in his songbook, but owing to the conscientiousness of the Putna scribe, most of the names are supplied.

1. A setting in Mode IV Plagal of the Koinonikon for Theophany: MS Ščukin 350, fol. 96^r–96^v, and MS Putna 56, fol. 64^v; attributed in the latter to *κὺρ Μανουήλ* and given the descriptive epithet *ὁργανικόν*.⁵⁷ The original is a Sunday Koinonikon in the same mode by the fifteenth-century lampada-

rios, theoretician, and composer, Manuel Chrysaphes, and its most authoritative version (without the epithet) can be found in Chrysaphes' signed anthology, MS Iviron 1120 (dated 1458), fol. 565^r–565^v. In failing to identify *κὺρ Μανουήλ* as Chrysaphes, Pennington mistakenly claims that Makarie is the first Moldavian scribe to incorporate his compositions.⁵⁸ Now we can say with certainty that the work of this prolific composer—a composer who is known to have traveled to Serbia, where he wrote music⁵⁹—entered Moldavia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and possibly earlier, when monastic singers formed part of the first community of Stefan's monastery.

2. A setting in Mode IV Plagal of the Koinonikon for the Saturday of Lazarus.⁶⁰ MS Ščukin 350, fol. 99^r, and MS Putna 56, fol. 66^v. The attribution in the latter is *τοῦ Δοχειανοῦ*, followed by the descriptive epithet *ὁργανικόν*. The original is a setting in the same mode of the Koinonikon for feasts of the Mother of God by the early fourteenth-century composer Dimitrios Dokeianos, a celebrated pupil of Ioannes Koukouzeles. Its earliest dated appearance, in 1336, in MS Athens 2458, fol. 107^v, does not have the epithet, but in a later transmission, MS Vatopedi 1495, fol. 206^r, it can be found.

3. A setting in Mode I Plagal of the Koinonikon for Pentecost.⁶¹ MS Ščukin 350, fols. 93^v–94^r, and MS Putna 56, fol. 62^r—attributed in the latter to *κὺρ Φωκᾶ*. The original is a Sunday Koinonikon in the same mode by Phokas *τοῦ Πολίτου*, a mid-fourteenth-century composer from Constantinople (as his title, “of the City,” suggests) who, according to MS Iviron 1120, fol. 247^v, held the office of *laosynaktos* in the Great Church. Its earliest appearance is in MS Athens 2622,⁶² fol. 407^r. Evstatie has again used his distinctive *da capo* sign, and has retouched the composition by repeating certain notes to accommodate the longer Slavonic text and by writing in his own *πάλιν* melody and second ending for the repetition.

4. A setting in the nenano mode of the Koinonikon for The Transfiguration.⁶³ MS Ščukin 350, fol. 94^r–

⁵⁸ See her “Music in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia” (*supra*, note 4), 81–82.

⁵⁹ See D. E. Conomos, “The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes,” *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Musicological Society Congress, Copenhagen, 1972*, II (Copenhagen, 1974), 748.

⁶⁰ Psalm 8:3a.

⁶¹ Psalm 142:10.

⁶² See *supra*, note 49.

⁶³ Psalm 88:16b and 17a.

⁵⁷ The spelling of the Moldavian scribes is exceedingly erratic. Apart from confusing Greek and Cyrillic alphabets, they place accents on unstressed syllables or neglect them entirely. For the purposes of this study I have made the necessary adjustments.

94^v, and MS Putna 56, fols. 62^v–63^r—wrongly attributed in the latter to $\kappa\upsilon\theta$ $\Phi\omega\kappa\acute{\alpha}$. The original is a setting in the same mode of the Koinonikon for feasts of St. John the Baptist⁶⁴ by the early fourteenth-century protopsaltes Xenos Korones. Its earliest appearance is in a mid-fourteenth-century *akolouthia*, MS Athens 899, fol. 132^v. Evstatie's adaptation is less successful here than in his other borrowings because the melody was originally intended for a short text. The Slavonic verse, with nearly twice as many syllables as the Greek, has been allocated, without imaginative compromise, to the chant. Consequently, the smooth lines, intended for melismatic delivery, have been disrupted by the intrusion of a crowd of syllables. In one case, Evstatie is forced to place a syllable on a dyo kentemata figure, a startling and cumbersome breach of common practice.⁶⁵ Once again, Evstatie allows himself the privilege of indicating repeats and of altering the ending.

5. A setting in Mode I Plagal of the Koinonikon for The Ascension:⁶⁶ MS Ščukin 350, fol. 93^r–93^v, and MS Putna 56, fol. 61^v—attributed in the latter to Ἰωάννου διακόνου. This composer is not to be confused with the lampadarios Ioannes Kladas, who, as noted above, is sometimes nebulously identified by Evstatie as $\kappa\upsilon\theta$ Ἰωάννου. The only deacon with the name Ioannes who at this time composed liturgical hymns was Sgouropoulos. Strangely enough, his Koinonikon for feasts of St. John the Baptist in Mode I *Authentic* is the source for Evstatie's Ascension chant, and a mid-fourteenth-century transmission is contained in MS Athens 899, fols. 124^v–125^r. The scribe of the later MS Athens 2406, who also makes provision for this hymn on fol. 252^v, refers to Sgouropoulos as both deacon and domestikos of the Great Church. It is entirely possible that the modal discrepancy, not altogether uncommon in certain Late Byzantine chant traditions, antedates Evstatie, and that his exemplar was written in the plagal form. In any event, the transcription of both is identical, owing to a difference in the opening neumes of the two versions.

6. A setting in the nenano mode of the Koinonikon for feasts of the Cross:⁶⁷ Ms Ščukin 350, fols. 94^r–95^r, and MS Putna 56, fol. 63^r—attributed in the

latter to Ἰωάννου διακόνου. Unless the scribe of the Putna manuscript is again in error, this is presumably by deacon Ioannes Sgouropoulos, the same composer of the previous chant. However, I have been unable to trace the Greek original in the Byzantine sources at my disposal. To my knowledge, the only other Communion chant written by Sgouropoulos is a Mode I setting of the Sunday verse (MS Athens 2401, fol. 211^v, is the only source I know which preserves it), and it bears little resemblance to the nenano melody. There is, however, a slight affinity with a setting in Mode IV Plagal of the Easter Koinonikon by Ioannes Doukas who, according to MS Vatopedi 1495, fols. 207^v–208^r, was a domestikos of the Great Church. This may be another case of wrong attribution, but the similarity between the two melodies is not as convincing as in the other borrowed chants.

7. A setting in Mode I of the Koinonikon for the Sunday of Thomas:⁶⁸ MS BAN 13.3.16, fols. 10^v–11^r, and MS Putna 56, fol. 60^r—attributed in the latter to $\kappa\upsilon\theta$ Γεωργίου. This name enjoys equal ambiguity to that of Ioannes, since it could refer to one of four Greek composers known by the Moldavians: Kontopetris, Moschianos, Panaretos, and Sgouropoulos. It turns out that the original, a Koinonikon in the same mode for feasts of the Mother of God, belongs to the second name on this list.⁶⁹ Its earliest known appearance is in MS Athens 2622, fols. 403^v–404^r. While the melody of the psalm verse is identical in both the Leningrad and Putna transmissions, the alleluia ending differs. The longer version in Putna is the one found in the Byzantine source and is presumably more authentic. If Evstatie was responsible for reducing the refrain in his songbook, it is surprising that the Putna scribe, as in nearly every other case, did not adopt his version. It is not unreasonable to assume that Moschianos' chant existed in other collections known to the Putna scribe, the ones to which he referred in order to label the anonymous compositions in Evstatie's songbook, and that he chose the more traditional alleluia as an alternative ending.

8. A setting in Mode II of the Koinonikon for Mid-pentecost:⁷⁰ MS Putna 56, fols. 60^v–61^r (no attribution). The original is a Sunday Koinonikon in the same mode also by Georgios Moschianos, and its earliest appearance is in MS Athens 2622, fols.

⁶⁴ Psalm 111:6b.

⁶⁵ The word *лица* is placed against the two-note figure. In the original, these notes are given to the first syllable of αἰώνιον.

⁶⁶ Psalm 46:6.

⁶⁷ Psalm 4:7.

⁶⁸ Psalm 147:1.

⁶⁹ The scribe of the Putna manuscript misleadingly writes this Greek name with a Romanian nominative ending.

⁷⁰ John 6:56.

357^v–358^r. I believe that this adaptation and that of Kladas' Palm Sunday Koinonikon in the Barys mode (see Table I), both of which survive only in the Putna manuscript, are the work of Evstatie, and either were once a part of his songbook or were included by him in another collection known to the Putna scribe. In both cases the principles of modification and adjustment betray the craft of the Putna domestikos.

9. A setting in the nenano mode of the Koinonikon for Christmas:⁷¹ MS Ščukin 350, fols. 95^v–96^r, and MS Putna 56, fol. 64^r–64^v—attributed in the latter to Ἰωάννου διακόνου. If we can trust the Putna scribe or his source, we must view this chant as another poorly represented Greek composition by deacon Ioannes Sgouropoulos (or Doukas?), since I have been unable to trace a Byzantine prototype in this or in any other mode. The chant which it most resembles is the verse for the feasts of the Cross attributed to the same composer (*supra*, no. 6); in both the opening is remarkably similar, otherwise the two works have little in common.

⁷¹ Psalm 110:9a.

It is now evident that the musical tradition of Putna was neither simply local nor wholly limited to a brief period. The adoption of bilingual chants in other Moldavian religious houses and the use of Greek, Serbian, and Romanian chants say much about the nature of this international tradition in the post-Byzantine era. In particular, the contribution of Evstatie was obviously a significant one. His own compositions, and those of Dometian and Theodosie, offer concrete proof of the early dependence of Romanian psalmody upon Byzantine models. At the same time, Evstatie's flair for inventiveness and his bold editorial skills indicate an acute awareness of the need for modifications appropriate to local conditions. It is evident that the hegemony of Greek as a liturgical language, and consequently of Greek chants for use in Moldavian monasteries, was being contested. But the new trends of Evstatie's school were far from radical departures. Rather, the evidence reveals an impressive and remarkably conservative allegiance to traditional practices. Thanks to the industry of the Romanian scribes, we know that the fine products of Late Byzantine composers survived in a genuine and authentic Moldavian musical tradition in the sixteenth century.